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# ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

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ARTICLE I.

PROGRESS AND OBJECTS OF PEACE SOCIETIES.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE apathy with which War has been looked upon, and the prospect of its indefinite continuance acquiesced in, by so many, in other respects enlightened and benevolent men, has resulted, no doubt, in part from the unconscious influence of familiarity and false associations in dimming the moral perceptions; but principally, we believe, from a vague feeling of the hopelessness of attempting to put an end to so vast and deep-rooted an evil. Yet this apathy, if we view it in a right light, is as surprising as it is melancholy. For it cannot be doubted that the Creator formed men to dwell in brotherhood together. War exhibits mankind in a most unnatural and revolting aspect. It is utterly at variance with the spirit of Christianity. As a mode of deciding national differences, it is barbarous and absurd, without equity in principle, and never insuring a just decision. It combines sources of crime and misery incalculably beyond every other scourge of the earth. Its perpetual abolition would not only dry up these sources of evil, but would remove the greatest obstacles to human advancement; would quicken all the springs of social welfare, physical and moral, and open the road to indefinite progress and perfection. Finally, this result is precisely what Christianity contemplates,—

what, in its legitimate influence, it tends to produce, and is destined to achieve.

These incontestible truths furnish, it would seem, not only motives to exertion, but also principles of influence sufficiently available, to encourage united and hopeful activity.

These truths have not, indeed, in time past, been altogether unfelt, nor unuttered. Here and there a voice has been lifted up to proclaim them. But these voices, coming forth at distant intervals and remote from each other, and in comparison so few, have never met and blended, so as to arrest the attention and the passions absorbed in war. Amidst the tumults of arms and battles, they have been disregarded. Meantime the great majority of the teachers of mankind have been silent through despair, or themselves sharing the prevailing delusions, have sought to palliate the hideous custom, or even joined to swell the notes of acclamation and applause. Here and there, it is true, may be found in the writings of moralists and statesmen, passages reprobating War as a guilty and monstrous dereliction of the true design of human nature, or deploring it as a curse and scourge of the earth ; yet with an evident hopelessness of its ever ceasing. Amidst the aspirations of poets and philanthropists, we light here and there upon visions of a golden age returned, when Peace should again revisit the earth ; —visions in which the dreamers themselves had scarcely any faith, and which most men laughed to scorn. The most that Christian Faith and Hope dared look for, was that in the dim obscurities of some distant age, the Gospel, in some mysterious way, was to have its full power, and its predictions their accomplishment, when “the sword should be beaten into the ploughshare and the spear into the pruning hook, and nations should learn war no more ;” but with the fulfilment of which they could no more conceive their own agency required, or possibly connected, than with the revolutions of the planets.

This language may perhaps seem overcharged. Certainly we have no wish to exaggerate. We acknowledge all the exceptions to these statements that can be found. We render honor to the peaceful principles of certain bodies of Christians ;

—principles that have stood the test of more than one sharp trial. We should be glad to see gathered together into one view, all that right-minded moralists and statesmen have said on this subject,—views such as those expressed by Franklin, and Washington, and Jefferson, in our own country. “God grant,” said Franklin, “that we may never see another war ; for in my opinion there never was a good war, or a bad peace.” “For the sake of humanity,” said Washington, “it is devoutly to be wished, that the manly employment of agriculture, and the humanizing benefits of commerce, should suspend the wastes of War, and the rage of conquest.” “Will nations,” writes Jefferson, “will nations never devise any other national umpire of difference than force ? Are there no means of coercing injustice, more gratifying to our nature, than a waste of the blood of thousands ? Wonderful has been the progress of human improvement in other lines. Let us hope, then, that we shall at length be sensible that war is an instrument entirely inefficient to the redress of wrongs.” We might, certainly, collect numerous expressions of similar sentiments, within the last seventy years, by men in our own and other countries, distinguished by character and political eminence.

But after all, if we reflect how few and how isolated these expressions have been, in comparison with those of an opposite character ; and how little practical effect they have produced—how little actual exertion they have called out, and how little they have affected the policy of governments,—we are left to acknowledge an indifference as astonishing as it is deplorable.

Such, too, to a very great extent, is the aspect of christendom, even at the present moment. Still, however, there are to be seen clear indications of a much more general and quickened sensibility to this subject. In many respects important changes have taken place ; and many cheering omens may be discerned.

The causes of the more decided movement in regard to this subject, it might be difficult to assign precisely, and in their exact proportion of influence. Many things conspired. Principally, beyond doubt, we are to look to the career of Napoleon,

the most fearful impersonation of the genius of War, conquest, military glory, ever seen in the world. Convulsing both hemispheres, overturning the ancient thrones and dynasties of Europe, sweeping with a broad track of desolation beyond the bounds of European civilization,—the nations of the earth were “in fear and great perplexity ;” and for a while seemed to gaze in helpless awe, at the terrible energy of his resistless march. But he had roused against him the self-love, the pride, the fear, the hatred, the physical, and what was still more, the moral power of Europe ; and the nations combined to crush him, as an untameable wild beast, whose existence was no longer compatible with the safety of the world.

He fell: for to stand in such a conflict was impossible. Exhausted by the long and obstinate struggle, the people sunk down to repose. Drained of treasure and of blood, weary and sick of War, the universal wish was for Peace. Then perhaps was not the moment for fully understanding all the lessons, which the scenes of fifteen years combined to teach. Reflection and time were necessary to gather and impress them all upon the general mind. They have not yet exhausted these sources of instruction. But these stupendous convulsions had, during their progress, forced many salutary convictions, not only upon the minds of those, who, more aloof from their influence, watched the progress of affairs, but upon the governments immediately affected by them. Thus the eyes of governments were opened to the impolicy, the danger, of any longer tolerating the monstrous principle of Conquest, which, in the hands of revolutionary *Propagandism*, and subsequently of military ambition, could produce such tremendous effects. And in truth, if we consider the time, the circumstances, and the theatre on which it was displayed, never has the spirit of conquest and military glory been seen in such a terrific manifestation, and so calculated to rouse the world into a fixed horror and aversion against the spirit and the agency it employs. During the brief career of Napoleon, the world saw the spectacle of five millions of human lives, and eight thousand millions of dollars, (to say nothing of the incalculable indirect losses and evils,) sacrificed

by the insatiable ambition, and boundless selfishness of a single individual. The impression of all this upon the minds of thoughtful observers, could not fail to be deep and solemn. The self-love and fear, if nothing else, of Kings, were likewise effectually alarmed. They were startled into a conviction how very dangerous and impolitic, at least, it was to sanction a principle which could put it in the power of fortune and individual ambition, to overturn or shake all the thrones of Europe. Of this at least, the declarations of the Allied Sovereigns were the expression. But we believe that they were more: we believe there was a deeper feeling of its wickedness, its sin and shame, than before,—a moral re-action against the spirit of conquest and of war. At all events, it was the first public, solemn and combined reprobation, by the great sovereigns of Europe, of what had always before been practically sanctioned. And oh, if they had then but clearly and fully discerned, honestly proclaimed, and faithfully maintained the true principles of justice and political wisdom, what an era might then have dawned on Europe; and how truly might they have deserved the title of *Holy Alliance*!

We will not here pursue any farther the consideration of those events, in their more strictly political influences on the principles and measures of governments; but will glance at the origin and progress of more special exertions in the promotion of peace.

While those scenes, to which we have referred, were passing, the eyes of Christian philanthropy were also watching them, and a profound impression of the melancholy contradiction of such scenes to the spirit of the gospel, and to the true end and happiness of man, could not fail to be made. Sickening at the spectacle of human nature, exhibited to their view, and the boundless crimes and miseries of war, the cry, as it would seem, burst from many a heart: *shall the sword devour forever?* These sentiments found their utterance through the press. As early as the year 1809, a tract by a gentleman of New York had been published, which called forth a reply and a rejoinder; this awakened some attention, led to discussion, and occasioned

the spread of pacific principles in that city. Early in 1815, the same gentleman published a treatise, entitled : " War inconsistent with the Religion of Jesus Christ."

In the mean time, a similar spirit was at work in other parts of the country, and particularly in Massachusetts. It was greatly extended by the " Solemn Review of the custom of War," a tract by the Rev. N. Worcester, D. D. published at Boston, near the close of the year 1814. The circulation of this tract was very great, both in this country and abroad, and had a most important influence in quickening the sensibilities of the humane, in diffusing pacific principles, and leading to subsequent exertions.

At this time, the duty of extending the knowledge of Christianity to the pagan nations, had just begun to be more generally felt; Christian benevolence had been quickened by new impulses, and called forth in new directions. A multitude of benevolent associations for extending the Gospel, and applying its principles as the grand remedy for human evils, were then just springing up and consolidating. This facilitated the attempt to bring the spirit of the Gospel in reference to war, to act on the conscience, and awaken the exertions of Christians. For it is a beautiful truth, that the developement and vivid enforcement of one latent Christian principle, spreads outward, quickening other latent principles, and calling forth the activities they demand. It is the quality of deeds of Love to enlarge the spirit and strengthen power of Love. At this time, too, the strength of Union and the power of Opinion were beginning to be better understood than ever before:—the unlimited resources of moral power, in rectifying opinion, combining and directing its force, were becoming every day more available.

From these influences resulted Peace Societies. The first four that were formed, the New York, the Massachusetts, the Ohio, and the London, sprang up nearly simultaneously, (in 1815, and 1816,) and probably without a knowledge of each other's existence at the time. The American Peace Society was formed at New York, May, 1828.

These associations have now become very numerous, both in our own and in foreign countries. We have room only to speak briefly of two or three of the most important of the Foreign Societies.

The London "Society for Promoting Permanent and Universal Peace," was formed July 14, 1816. Its object, in its own language, is "to print and circulate Tracts, and diffuse information tending to show that war is inconsistent with the spirit of Christianity, and the true interest of mankind, and to point out the means best calculated to maintain permanent and universal peace, upon the basis of Christian principles." The organ of this Society is the "Herald of Peace." An active correspondence has been maintained by this Society, with the friends of Peace in all parts of the world, and more than half a million of Tracts have been published and distributed.

In France, the "Society of Christian Morals," (*Societe de Morale chretienne*) was founded, Aug. 15, 1821, by the venerable Duke de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, under the sanction of the French government. Among its early members, were the late lamented Baron de Stael Holstein, the late celebrated Benjamin Constant, Casimer-Perier, late prime minister of the King, besides other eminent individuals, now deceased. In the long list of its present members, we have counted more than forty of the most distinguished names among the French nobles, statesmen, and men of letters. The King of the French, his son the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Broglie, the Marquis de la Rochefoucault-Liancourt, Guizot, and most of the Ministers of State, are members of this Society. Its object is expressed in the first article of its Constitution: "The object of this Society is to exhibit and recall perpetually to men's minds, the precepts of Christianity, in all its purity; to present to their notice the happy influence of these precepts upon the welfare of the human race, and thus to contribute to inspire, or more and more to quicken, sentiments of charity and general good will, so requisite to secure the *reign of Peace on earth*." In the Journal of this Society for June, 1832, they say: "The Society of Christian



Morals has been, for eleven years past, a genuine Peace Society in France. It corresponds with those of London and Geneva; it professes the same principles; it aims at the same ameliorations.”\*

The Geneva Peace Society was formed in December, 1830, and has been constantly animated by the zeal of its founder, the Count de Sellon, an eminent philanthropist, who has for many years been devoted to the amelioration of criminal law in regard to capital punishment. M. de Sellon has written and published many things in promotion of the principles of peace; he has also held public *concourses* for the reception of prize memoirs, maintained an active correspondence with governments and all the friends of humanity, and in various ways, with unwearied activity, devoted himself to this great cause. The Geneva Society publish a periodical called “Archives of the Peace Society.”

The object of these Associations of which we have named a few of the principal, is, through the press and by all other resources of moral power, to create such a state of opinion as shall ultimately effect the abolition of War and the adoption of some peaceful mode of settling national differences. Their labors are, in general, directed to the diffusion of light on this subject. By developing and applying the true spirit of Christianity, and exhibiting the actual influences of war on the welfare of nations, they aim to make a combined appeal to the moral sentiments and enlightened self-interest of people and governments. Among the many special objects to which their exertions are directed, may be mentioned the purifying of the Literature and Education of christendom. Still more particularly, to cite here the language of Mr. *Ladd*, one of the earliest, most enlightened and zealous promoters of this great cause: “to abolish paper blockades—lessen the enumeration of articles called contraband of war—abolish the practice of privateering—and establish the principle that free ships make free goods—and thus dry up many fruitful sources of war;—to increase and promote the practice of submitting national differences to amicable discus-

\* Journal de la Société de Morale chrétienne.

sion and arbitration,—and finally of settling all national controversies by an appeal to reason, as becomes rational beings, and not by physical force, as is worthy only of brute beasts; and that this shall be done by a congress of Christian nations, whose decrees shall be enforced by public opinion that rules the world,—not by public opinion as it now is, but by public opinion enlightened by the Gospel of Peace.”

Now are these objects visionary? Are these schemes impracticable? Is there no encouragement to attempt any thing?

On this point let us reflect. Let us understand. For ourselves, we are prepared heartily to adopt the position so well stated by Mr. *Ware*: “if it be a duty which we are called upon to perform, it is no matter whether there be any visible encouragement or not. Duty can be done, sooner or later. It must be begun,—in the dark perhaps; but we shall work our way to the light.”\* This is sound. This is the spirit in which this subject should be approached. There is a moral decision about it which we like. It is right-minded; it is right-hearted.

Now on this point there are some things which we are ready to lay down fearless of all contradiction:

1. That the adoption of a peaceful policy by which the differences of nations should be decided, without recourse to arms, on the principles of moderation and equity,—would put an end to immense evils, and would in every way, incalculably promote the physical, moral, and social welfare of mankind, and is therefore commended by every consideration of enlightened self-interest.

2. That Christianity in its whole spirit and tendency, aims to produce, and if its legitimate influence were now predominant in Christendom, infallibly would produce such a consummation.

3. That the spread of Christianity and the full development and application of its principles, as the remedy for human evils and the means of human advancement and perfectionment, is, in the intentions of Providence, to be effected by the

\* *Promise of Universal Peace.* By Professor Ware, of Cambridge. p. 20.

agency of its friends, and is required of them by its express commands,—and of course in relation to this, as well as every other object involved in the application of its principles.

4. That through this agency, such shall be the ultimate result, Christianity, by express predictions, renders certain.

5. To attempt, therefore, what the welfare of the world requires, what the true spirit of the Gospel tends to effect, and if prevalent would effect, and what through the commanded exertions of its followers it is destined to effect,—is beyond all contradiction a DUTY.

And here are grounds enough for a confident attempt to perform our duty. Shall it be thought a thing *impossible* to achieve what the good of man requires, what the Gospel tends, and through the agency of its friends, is destined to effect? The thought is not to be entertained. It is not impossible; it cannot rationally be thought so. To think so, is a pusillanimous subjection of the mind to the tyranny of the Present, it is to be incapable of instruction from the Past, and incapable of faith, even in God, for the Future.

United exertions *can*, united exertions infallibly *will*, sooner or later, accomplish the end. United exertions are a duty, and *to unite in such exertions to the utmost of each one's ability, is, therefore, the sacred duty of every individual*; a duty which cannot possibly, in any just view of Christian obligation, be declined.

Here, perhaps, is the place to advert to an objection sometimes offered, an objection so frivolous, indeed, as hardly to deserve an answer: that all our special exertions are needless and fruitless, because the predominance of the spirit of the Gospel is the only influence that can put an end to war; till then, all we can do will be of no material avail, and our exertions in regard to this object should be involved in the general effort to promote Christianity.

This objection is absurd. It proves so much that it subverts itself. For the same reason would be valid against special exertions to put down any and every other evil in the world. All other evils, as well as war, have their origin in human cor-

ruption; the spirit of the Gospel is as much opposed to them, and would, if prevalent, as effectually put an end to them, as to war. On the ground advanced, therefore, we might as well decline co-operation with special exertions against *Intemperance*, and even the *legislative* and *judicial* action of society against vice and crime, might be dispensed with.

But enough for this objection.—The united activity of the friends of man is requisite to bring about the immense revolution at which Peace Societies are aiming; and besides the grounds for such activity which we have mentioned, there are, likewise, from numerous sources, visible and ample encouragements to quicken the zeal of those who are engaged in this cause.

They are found in the history of the past;—in what advancing civilization, and the force of opinion, have already done to put an end to many customs, once, to all appearance, as deeply rooted, as that against which our efforts are directed. Here we may indicate the trial by ordeal, the judicial combat, witchcraft, &c.;—the abolition of the baronial wars of the middle ages, the overthrow of the inquisition, the abolition of the slave-trade; and the numerous modifications of international law, and the influence of civilization in repressing the barbarities and mitigating the severities of war itself.

They are found in the aspects of the present :—in the multiplied results of awakened philanthropy and Christian benevolence, the new developements of moral power which the age displays. They are found in the progress which this cause has actually made, in the attention it has awakened, the numbers, intelligence, and zeal of those it has engaged in its promotion. They are found particularly in the political aspects of the age, in the measures and declared dispositions of many sovereigns. They are found in the growing industrious and commercial interests of Christian nations, and the consequent growth of the pacific spirit among the people, and of the pacific policy among the governments.

Many of these topics, to which we have alluded, are susceptible of full and rich illustration; and several of them we shall

have occasion, hereafter, to unfold more at large. We shall for the present leave them, barely adding that the result is sure. "Already," says Mr. Ware, "the powers are at work which are to accomplish this desirable consummation. Already the process is begun, by which God is to fulfil the amazing predictions of his word. The fire is kindled at the forges, where the swords are to be beaten into plough-shares, and the spears into pruning-hooks. The teachers are already abroad, who shall persuade men to 'learn War no more.' If we would hasten the day, we have only to throw ourselves into the current, and we may row with the tide. There may be here and there a counter current; but the main stream is flowing steadily on, and the order of Providence is rolling forward the sure result."

Such is the cause to which our labours are devoted; so vast, so noble and sublime in itself; so coincident with Heaven's own plans of love in its aims; so rich in blessings for the world; and, by the guaranty of God's own Word, so certain of success.

And we invite all the friends of human welfare to unite together in advancing this great and good cause. Especially we invite all those who are engaged in the diversified activities of benevolence, by which the present day is distinguished. We invite them particularly, because the existence of the custom of War opposes the grand obstacle to the success of their various enterprizes, and absorbs the resources they might otherwise apply to the accomplishment of their ends. We invite them, because, while they are thus engaged in advancing the day of universal holiness and happiness, it certainly seems unsuitable that their sensibilities should slumber, in regard to the greatest curse and shame of christendom, and the most monstrous contradiction to the ultimate destiny of man. It certainly is an inconsistency, for them to be so intent on spreading Christianity abroad, and correcting minor contradictions to it at home; and yet be so backward to engage in the work of putting an end to this grand contradiction to the spirit of Christianity and the revealed purposes of God. They should be aware, that though they may go on converting Heathendom to Christianity; yet

if they convert it to no other kind of Christianity than the present *fighting* Christianity of Christendom, their converts must be re-converted, or the grand purposes of the Gospel, and its predictions concerning the world, will never be fulfilled. They should be aware, too, what a prodigious stumbling-block in the minds of the pagans, and what an obstacle to their reception of the Gospel, is found in the monstrous contrast between the peaceful spirit of the Gospel as it breathes from the sacred word, and as it is practically manifested in the conduct of those who offer it to them. This is no fiction. It has occurred more than once; and it should not be without its influence upon those who are engaged in extending Christianity over the earth.

Finally, a hearty union in this great and noble cause is strikingly recommended to Christians at the present day, by the happy influence it is calculated to have upon the spirit of Christian activity and zeal. It presents a common ground for union of feeling and action. It will form a common bond for all who are engaged in the diversified enterprises of Christian benevolence. It will do them all good to become members of the Peace Society, and thoroughly imbued with its spirit. They can come here and breathe a common atmosphere of love, and carry away a pure influence to animate all the other exertions in which they are engaged. It will lead them to "speak the truth in love."

The present is a day of agitation. The moral elements of the world seem all in commotion. There are parties, and sub-parties; there are conflicting principles, and conflicting exertions;—and to hearken to the confused murmurs and discordant watchwords, one might be tempted to think of Babel and its throngs, rather than of God's chosen servants, under his eye working harmoniously to one common end, the building up of the great Temple of his Glory!

It is the age of exaggeration. The principle of communion—in its true developement one of the most beautiful principles of our nature, and so noble in some of its applications, runs the hazard, through exaggeration and indiscriminating alian-

ces, of illustrating the celebrated saying : that there is but one step between the sublime and the ridiculous.—The power of association, too, is tested to the utmost : well if it do not become the tyranny of congregation. We dignify it by the name of the force of Opinion. Is there not room to fear it may well be called *force*, by seeming to aim not so much, by presenting truth to the reason and motives to the affections, to secure a *free and cordial choice*, as to *compel a formal* concurrence by threats and denunciation ?

It is not our intention to express the least doubt that all are devoted, in honesty and good faith, to what each one respectively believes the cause of truth and righteousness. We proclaim, too, our conviction that it is every one's duty to become the herald and apostle of what he believes to be the truth. We know, also, that there is no *standing* without *withstanding* ; that where there are differences of principle and opinion, they must come into opposition and conflict. We believe, too, that by this counteraction, God works good, the advancement of truth and his designs.—But surely we may be permitted to say that no infusion of *evil* temper is necessary to the most zealous discharge of the duty of advocating the truth and opposing error ; nor will bitterness and rancour in the least contribute to the great result. We may, therefore, in all kindness, suggest the danger there is lest corrupt passion mingle with the very activities which profess to advance the cause of God and man. We ought surely to be continually on our guard, lest, along with the pure flame of love to God and man, there mingle the unhallowed fire of human passion. God will not accept our advocacy, even of the cause of righteousness, if he sees it actuated more by a spirit of party-love, than of brotherly-love to man.

Now the Peace Society stands aloof from all the differences by which the church is divided, from all the conflicting interests of the times. The object is great and good ; in harmony with the plans of God and with the world's true welfare : to lead nations to abstain from a custom unnatural, brutal, and unchristian, the source of boundless crimes and miseries.

About the result at which Peace Societies are aiming, there is no ground for difference of sentiment. Here all can labor heart and hand together ; and catch a spirit too that will be good for them in every thing.

Such is this noble cause. It is an object for the eye to dwell upon, full of beauty and repose. It catches the sight like a Holy Temple, rising in silent majesty, remote and far from the noise of the streets. Here, in the morning, the wearied spirit of Christian Love, can strengthen itself with the living breath of Heaven which floats through its aisles, before it goes down to its day-work among the lower elements of life ; here, at noon, find a refreshing coolness ;—and at night lie down to still and soft sleep in the chambers of PEACE.

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## ARTICLE II.

### THE INFLUENCE OF WAR UPON THE WEALTH OF NATIONS.

BY WILLIAM M. HOLLAND, PROFESSOR IN WASHINGTON COLLEGE, HARTFORD.

WHEN some person, in the presence of Fouchè, denounced the execution of the Duke d' Enghein as a most detestable act of cruelty and wickedness, the wily statesman is said to have added—"Nay, sir, it was worse—*it was a grand political blunder !*" Had it been seasonably presented to Napoleon in the latter point of view, it is probable that history would have been spared the melancholy task of recording that outrage upon humanity. Considerations of policy would have restrained his violence, when justice and humanity had plead in vain. An act of cruelty or wickedness had fewer terrors for the Emperor of the French, than an act of impolicy ; and he, who did not hesitate to disregard the most sacred principles of morality, would have shrunk from the perpetration of a political blunder.